

AN
HISTORICAL
GEOGRAPHY OF
IRAN

W. BARTHOLD

TRANSLATED BY
SVAT SOUCEK

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
C. E. BOSWORTH

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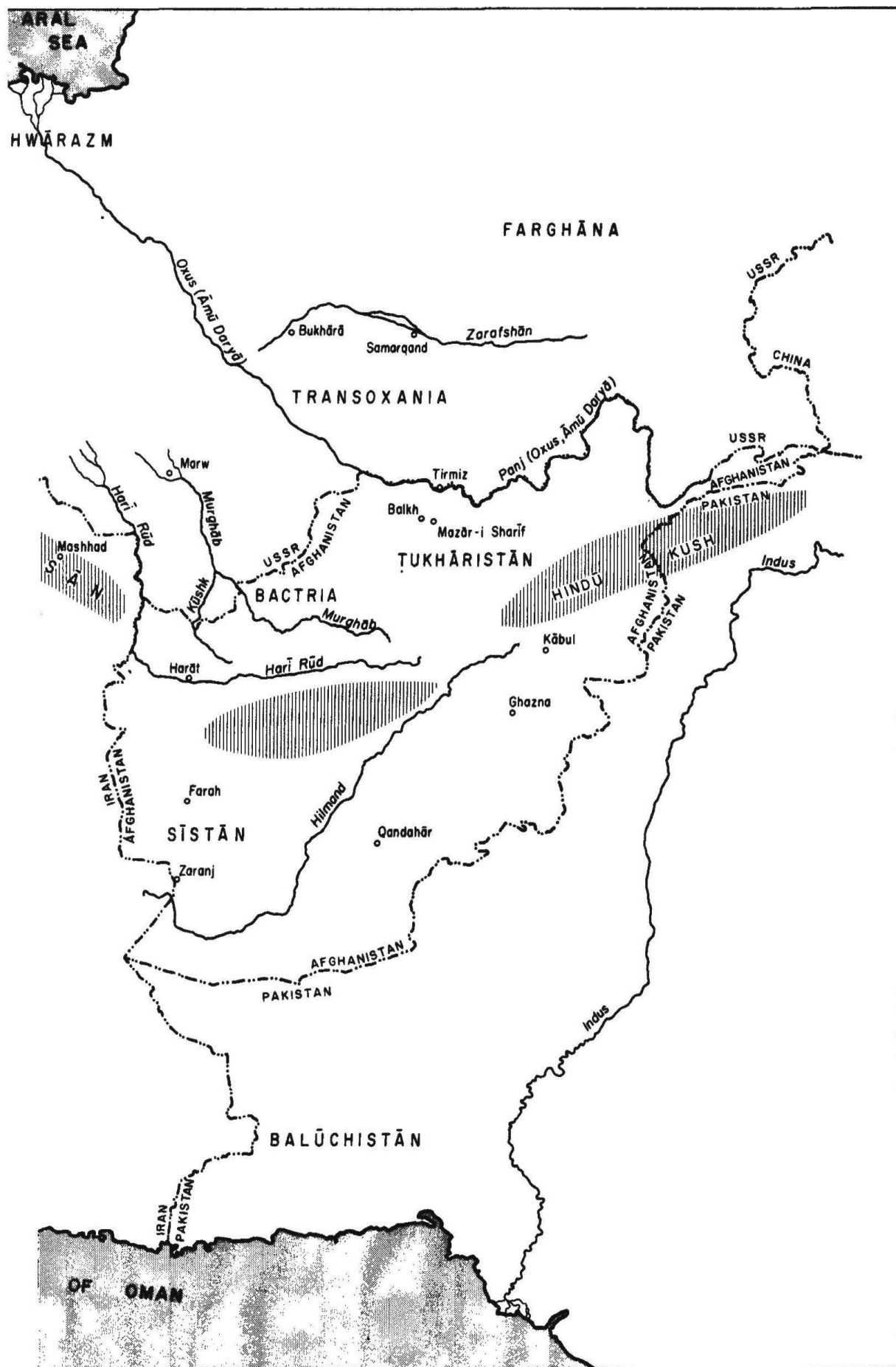
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AGWG	<i>Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
AI	<i>Athār-e Irān</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AMI	<i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
AN	<i>Akademiia Nauk</i>
ANVA	<i>Avhandlingar utgivet av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, Oslo</i>
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
AOHung	<i>Acta Orientalia Hungarica</i>
AOr	<i>Archív Orientální</i>
APAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
BGA	<i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i>
BSO[A]S	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies</i>
CAJ	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
EI ¹	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edition</i>
EI ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition</i>
EW	<i>East and West</i>
Farhang	<i>Farhang-i jughrāfiyā-yi Irān</i>
GAL	<i>C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i>
GIPh	<i>W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, eds., Grundriss der iranischen Philologie</i>
GJ	<i>Geographical Journal</i>
GMS	<i>Gibb Memorial Series</i>
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HOr	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
IA	<i>Islām Ansiklopedisi</i>
IJ	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
IJMES	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
IQ	<i>Islamic Quarterly</i>
Iran, JBIPS	<i>Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies</i>
Isl.	<i>Der Islam</i>
IUTAKÈ	<i>Trudy Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi èkspeditsii</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRCAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society</i>
JSFOu	<i>Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
MO	<i>Le Monde Oriental</i>
NGWG	<i>Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
NTS	<i>Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
OON	<i>Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
PRGS	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society</i>
PW	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
REI	<i>Revue des Études Islamiques</i>
RMM	<i>Revue du Monde Musulman</i>
SA	<i>Sovetskaia Arkheologiia</i>
SBAW Berlin	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
SBWAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
SB Bayr. AW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
Soch.	<i>V. V. Bartol'd, Sochineniia, Moscow, 1963-1977. 9 vols.</i>
SON	<i>Seriia obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
Survey of Persian Art	<i>A. U. Pope and P. A. Ackermann, eds. A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present. 6 vols. London and New York, 1938-1939.</i>
TPS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZII	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Leipzig</i>
ZVORAO	<i>Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva</i>







EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

No historian of the eastern Islamic world is unfamiliar with the works of Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartol'd (1869-1930), or Wilhelm Barthold, as his name was originally rendered in the Germano-Russian milieu into which he was born. His magnum opus, the work based on his St. Petersburg doctoral thesis, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, appeared in English in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1928, and with an extra, hitherto unpublished chapter, again in 1968. The late Professor V. and Mrs. T. Minorsky performed a valuable service in 1958-1962 by translating as *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (in fact, five studies) Barthold's *A Short History of Turkestan*, *History of the Semirech'yé*, *Ulugh-Beg*, *Mir 'Alī Shīr*, and *A History of the Turkman People*. The lectures that Barthold gave in Turkish at Istanbul in 1926 are available in both German and French versions (*Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, 1935, and *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 1945). A general work on Asian exploration and the evolution of oriental studies appeared in French in 1947, *La découverte de l'Asie, histoire de l'orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*. Various other lesser works have been translated into western languages and into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; Barthold wrote certain of his articles in the language of his family background, German; and the large number of articles that he wrote for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (many of them now updated and included in the new edition) are also widely available to the non-Russophone reader. But although the work of translation has gone on steadily in the half-century since Barthold's death, these works still represent only a small part of his total oeuvre, extending over some forty years; the *Collected Works (Sochineniia)* that appeared at Moscow between 1963 and 1977 (comprising ten parts in nine volumes) amount to over 7,000 large pages.

The stature of the man emerges from these bare statistics and the recounting of titles. The lands of eastern Islam, from Iran to Afghanistan and Central Asia, were Barthold's particular sphere of interest, and above all the latter, for the Russian advance into Central Asia during the later nineteenth century opened up for Russian scholars exciting possibilities of historical and archaeolog-

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ical investigation, whereas earlier European travelers to places like Khiva, Bukhara, and Samarqand had had to contend with capricious and barbaric local potentates who hardly observed the international conventions of behavior toward accredited diplomats, let alone toward free-lance travelers and researchers, figures of suspicion at the best of times. Barthold realized early in his scholarly career at the University of St. Petersburg, where he lectured from 1896 onward, that the investigation of the history, topography, and antiquities of Central Asia offered a field similar to that opened up in the Indian subcontinent in the late eighteenth century for British scholars. Barthold made almost annual field trips to Central Asia starting in 1893, undeterred by the fact that in that first year, on a journey to Semirechye, he broke his leg and had to return to Tashkent for medical treatment. In the 1920s, he was much in demand by the various Soviet republics that had by 1924 emerged in Central Asia after the final extinguishing of nationalist and separatist aspirations there, to write local histories and accounts of the different Turkish peoples of the republics. Both in the Tsarist period and after, Barthold was insistent that Russian officials, traders, soldiers, and so on working in Central Asia should busy themselves in their spare time with the study of the region, recognizing how much invaluable work had been done for our knowledge of Indian geography, society, and history by successive generations of devoted British administrators and soldiers.

Central Asia has always been at the receiving end of religious, cultural, and other influences, rather than being a spontaneously creative region, and it is this receptiveness to an assortment of outside civilizations—including those of China, India, the Middle East—that makes the study of Central Asia and the interaction of these strands such a fascinating one. It does, however, make stringent demands on the scholar who would devote himself to Inner Asia, not least in the matter of linguistic equipment; hence the rarity of the multilingual Marquarts and Pelliot. Barthold's concern was more particularly Islamic Central Asia, and his skills lay chiefly in the sphere of the three great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. He was an exacting philologist, fully cognizant of the truism not always appreciated today that without philological expertise the would-be specialist in the Middle East, or for that matter, in any part of Asia, is as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Accompanying his *Turkestan* when it appeared in 1898-1900 was a volume of texts, most of them edited for the first time by Barthold from manuscripts bristling with linguistic problems

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and difficulties of interpretation; many of these texts, such as Gardīzī's *Zayn al-akhbār*, 'Awfi's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, and Isfizarī's *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, have since been published, but here, as in so many spheres, Barthold was the pioneer.

One of those great civilizations that have profoundly affected Central Asia is the Iranian, for out of Iran such faiths as Zoroastrianism, Manicheism, Nestorian Christianity, and most recently Islam have been mediated to the Asian heartland. If only because a knowledge of Iranian civilization was a necessary adjunct to the understanding of Central Asia, Barthold was bound to be attracted to the study of Iran, a land with which Russia had already long been in intimate political, military, and commercial contact. Two of his major works, indeed, deal with it, the one translated here, and *Iran, a Historical Survey*, and both will now be available in English (a translation of the latter appeared at Bombay in about 1939).

Barthold's basic attitude to history was, as Professor Yuri Bregel has pointed out in a perceptive study that should be read in conjunction with this present Introduction,¹ that of nineteenth-century German positivist historiography, with the evolution of mankind viewed as a convergence of originally distinct human societies through the diffusion of culturally more advanced societies to the less advanced. It was in the light of this process that he viewed such diverse phenomena as religion, the growth of world empires, the development of urban life, and the spread of international trade, and that he viewed with favor the *missions civilisatrices* of the imperial powers of his time, whether Britain in India and Africa or Russia in Central Asia, Siberia, and the Caucasus. It was, indeed, Barthold's intellectual support for the Imperial Russian mission in Central Asia (one whose positive achievements were appreciated at the time by outside observers such as Schuyler and Curzon) that eventually contributed to a fuller rehabilitation of his work in post-Stalinist Soviet Russia. For although Barthold, as a Russian patriot, had stayed on in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, he gave no assent to Communism and regarded Marx as an unhistorical, unscientific figure whose ideas had no relevance for oriental studies; he had never become a nonperson in Soviet scholarship, but his works had been somewhat neglected or cited only selectively and misleadingly in some quarters, above all in the Central Asian Soviet Republics.

The Historical Geography of Iran is essentially an analytical and

¹ "Barthold and Modern Oriental Studies," *IJMES*, XII (1980), 385-403.

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descriptive work rather than an attempt at synthesis. Barthold was conscious of the backwardness of oriental studies in the identification and evaluation of the basic sources, compared with long-established disciplines such as classical studies and European literature and history. He held that the critical study of these basic sources was necessary before any meaningful grand syntheses could be made. Iran, with its successive great empires—those of the Achaemenids, Parthians, Sāsānids, and Muslims—its diverse faiths and its fine literary and artistic achievements, was already much more sharply focussed for the scholar than was Central Asia, but the historical geography of Iran, apart from groundwork done by such scholars as Tomaschek, had been hardly explored. As it happened, while Barthold was working on his book, two German scholars were also putting together outstanding contributions to this very subject, though from very different angles. Josef Marquart (a scholar whom Barthold felt to be to some extent a rival to himself, with their overlapping interests, and one whose wide-ranging speculations, even at times lucubrations, Barthold felt were often not sufficiently firmly grounded in reality) in his *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (1901) gave a translation of a brief and jejune Armenian geographical work enriched by a commentary of amazing erudition; and Paul Schwarz was embarking on his *Iran in Mittelalter* (1896-1936), a patient synthesis of all the information available in the medieval Islamic geographers but without any attempt at interpretation. These works Barthold was able to draw upon substantially only for his additional notes, but his own book stands as a parallel, though completely independent achievement, and has the additional advantage of providing a successful blend of classical, medieval Islamic, and modern European information on his subject.

For sources, Barthold accordingly drew upon the results of a patient sifting by earlier Iranists of the classical—above all Greek—sources on Iran; and then, for the earlier Islamic centuries, upon the corpus of ninth- and tenth-century Arabic geographical texts collected by M. J. de Goeje in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (1870-1894), supplemented by Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*. For the period of the Saljuqs, Mongols, Tīmūrids, and so on, he had texts by authors such as Nasawī, Juwaynī, 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, and Hāfiz-i Abrū, in the exploitation of which Barthold was often a trailblazer. For the period up to the present, for which primary historical sources in Persian or Arabic become sparser, he utilized fully the many European travelers, diplomatic envoys, merchants,

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members of religious orders, and so on who traveled within Iran, being thereby able, through the citation of such recent observers as I. N. Berezin, E. G. Browne, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, and A. V. Williams Jackson, to make his survey entirely up to date. It is not surprising that Barthold is particularly full on Khurāsān and the northeastern fringes of Iran, for Russian travelers and scholars had done much valuable spadework here for him; but the breadth of his treatment of other provinces such as Fārs and Azerbaijan shows that his mastery of the source material extended to the whole of historic Iran, including Mesopotamia, that at various epochs has formed part of the empires of Iran.

The basic sources for the medieval Islamic period have not been greatly enlarged since Barthold's time. Since it was only in 1922 that A.Z.V. Togan discovered at Mashhad a manuscript of the Arab traveler Abū Dulaf al-Khazraji's second *risāla* on his travels in northern and western Iran, Barthold was not able to draw upon this, although he was of course aware of the numerous citations from this work in Yāqūt; I have therefore added the relevant references to Minorsky's 1955 edition and translation of the *risāla*. Also, Barthold naturally knew of the anonymous Persian geographical work from the late tenth century, the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, acquired by Captain A. G. Tumanskii at Bukhara in 1893, and whose text he was later to edit and to have published posthumously (1930). But in the earlier period, he was only able to quote to a limited extent from a photographic copy, so that ampler references to the English translation and monumental commentary of Minorsky (1937) have been added by Livshits.

Finally, one should mention that a Persian translation of the *Historical Geography of Iran* was published at Tehran in 1930 by Sardādwar; it is now very hard to find,² and it may be fairly claimed that the present translation will for the first time make available to western readers one of the masterworks of a giant of oriental studies.

THE translation has been made by Dr. Svat Soucek from the text of the *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana* given in Vol. VII of Barthold's *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 31-225, a volume provided with a lengthy Introduction (pp. 5-28) by Dr. V. A. Livshits. Barthold's original text is liberally sprinkled with quotations from Ar-

² My colleague, Mr. Mohsen Ashtiany, tells me that it has, however, recently been reprinted in Iran.

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abic, Persian, and Turkish sources given in the original Arabic script. These also have been translated; citations from classical Greek authors have been left in the original script.

The notes are an exceedingly valuable feature of this 1971 edition, but as translated in this present work they represent a palimpsest, as it were, of different layers by different hands. Barthold's original notes, given with the 1903 original text, were brief and largely confined to the citation of oriental texts used for the work. But as was his custom with other major works, over the years Barthold accumulated, out of his own reading and in some instances his closer personal acquaintance with the actual terrain, a rich collection of further references. Facsimile examples of Barthold's notes are given by Livshits at pp. 22-26 of his Introduction. Livshits has integrated these with the notes of the original edition (leaving them, in many cases, in their terse, elliptical, notelike form), and in the present translation, these are not otherwise distinguished; anyone who wishes to disentangle the 1903 notes from the subsequent ones can easily do so from the *Sochineniia* text. Livshits has, however, vastly increased the value of the latter text by adding his own extensive annotation, comprising in the main relevant works that appeared during the years 1930-1967. In the present translation, these are marked off by angle brackets, thus: «. . .»). The final layer is that of my own notes, references to works that have either appeared since 1967 or that were published earlier but were apparently not available to Livshits in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, references to translations of texts into western European languages, for example to Yule's translation of Marco Polo and to Le Strange's one of Clavijo's *Embassy to Tamerlane*, have been given where Barthold cited only Russian translations. These additions of my own have been placed within square brackets, thus: [. . .] when they represent insertions within or additions to existing notes. Where a few notes have been inserted at fresh points in Barthold's text, these are indicated by letters, thus: a, b, c, etc. In general, however, I have sought not to overload still further an already substantial weight of annotation.

The bibliography given at the end of this book is a select one. Volume VII of the *Sochineniia* contains a bibliography of truly gargantuan dimensions (87 pages), although this also refers, it is true, to the other contents of the volume (*Iran, a Historical Survey*, some review articles and shorter articles, and some *Encyclopaedia of Islam* articles). The system that I have adopted within the body of the translation is to give the full title and bibliographical details when

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the work in question does not appear in the bibliography. The naturally very numerous Russian works cited by Barthold are usually given by short title only and without full bibliographical details. Sergei Shuiskii has assembled a bibliography of Russian works that gives the full references; this follows the main bibliography.

For measurements and distances, Barthold wisely did not attempt to reduce the figures given in his sources to a common denominator; hence one finds metric measurements side-by-side with, for example, English miles and the traditional Russian units. The reader may therefore find it useful to note that a verst is approximately a kilometer or 3,500 English feet in length, an arshin 28 inches in length, and a desiatina 2.7 acres in area.

C. E. BOSWORTH
December 1981

AN
HISTORICAL
GEOGRAPHY OF
IRAN

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this work is to present a brief survey of the geography of Iran, to dwell in greater detail on the sites that were at various historical periods the centers of life, and to determine, as far as possible, the degree of dependence of this life on geographical circumstances.

"Iran" as a geographical term denotes an elevated plateau, bordering on the north and northeast the basins of the Caspian and Aral seas, and on the west, south, and southeast, the basin of the Indian ocean. The country is one of the so-called interior, landlocked basins, whose characteristic peculiarities have been best described by F. Richthofen in his book on China.¹ The main difference between these basins and the ocean-drained or peripheral ones is that in the former, all the products of mechanical or chemical decomposition (through the action of water, wind, and so on) remain within the region, whereas in the latter they are carried away into the sea; in the former the accumulation of such deposits gradually effaces the unevenness of the soil and is instrumental in its leveling, whereas in the latter the deposits pile up along the coasts and further the formation of deltas and the raising of sea bottoms; the waters that pass through a country on the way to the sea erode the soil more and more, and the unevenness of the latter becomes ever more sharply pronounced. This is, then, how in closed basins the compartmentalization of the surface gradually diminishes, whereas in the peripheral ones it increases. Lack of moisture in landlocked basins, however, allows only a minor part of the country's surface to be cultivated, and this hinders a solid and lasting development of culture and civilization; for these reasons landlocked basins sharply differ from the peripheral ones not only in geography but also in history.

The Iranian plateau is one of such interior basins with an extremely dry climate.² Except in a few mountain areas, agriculture

¹ «F. Fr. von Richthofen, *China. Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien* (Berlin, 1877), 1. Theil, 6-21.)»

² For the absence of change in the climate during the last millennium, cf. W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie, II," pp. 561-62; Polybius, X, 28, 3 cited by L. S. Berg, "Ob izmeneniakh klimata v istoricheskuiu epokhu," *Zemlevedenie* (1911), book III, p. 80.

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is possible here only through irrigation; for this reason all the rivers, except for the most important ones, are divided up into irrigation canals as soon as they leave the mountains. Their remaining waters disappear in the sands. Civilization is of necessity concentrated along the fringes of the mountains that cut through the plateau. For these same reasons, the geographical borders of Iran could not coincide with the political and ethnic ones. The fact that almost the entire interior of the country is unsuitable for sedentary civilization could not but force the Iranians to settle areas neighboring the oceanic and Aralo-Caspian basins. The easternmost branch of the Iranians, the Afghans, now live chiefly in the basin of the Indus, whereas the westernmost one, the Kurds, live in that of the Tigris.³ These were the approximate limits within which lived the historical Iranians,⁴ as a result of which F. Spiegel, the author of a voluminous (now already somewhat dated) work on Iran, considered it possible to give his book the following title: *Érân, das Land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris*.

In the ethnic sense, the term "Iranians," as is well known, denotes that branch of the Aryans who are closely related to those of India. The oldest monuments of Indian and Iranian literatures are linguistically so similar that an attempt has even been made to reconstruct, in general terms, the language spoken by the proto-historical common ancestors of the Iranians and Indians. H. Oldenberg in his book *Aus Indien und Iran* remarks that "we can trace down to individual details the processes through which that language, not a single word of which has been preserved by history, developed to the southeast of the Hindu Kush into the dialect of the Vedas, and to the southwest of these same mountains into that of the Avesta."⁵ Of the two branches of the Asian Aryans—the Indians and Iranians—the Indians received their ethnic characteristics, it would seem, only in the country on that side of the Hindu Kush: there are no traces of Indians inhabiting the area to the north of these mountains. On the other hand, the Iranians, in the opinion of today's scholars, had at one time occupied a considerable portion of southern Russia and all of Turkestan, both western, present-day Russian, Turkestan and eastern Turkestan, that is, the Tarim

³ «For the present-day limits of the spread of the Iranian languages, see Oranskii, *Vvedenie*, p. 288.»

⁴ In the *Kutāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, I, 18², Sughd was called *Īrān al-A'lā*, "Upper Iran"; see Ross-Gauthiot, "De l'alphabet soghdien," *JA*, ser. 10, vol. XVII (1911), 532.

⁵ «H. Oldenberg, *Aus Indien und Iran* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 137-38.»

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basin. The languages spoken in this entire area already had the characteristic features of the Iranian idiom, not those of the proto-historical Indo-Iranian tongue. Both this fact and the few historical data available to us—the latter partly set out in F. A. Braun's magisterial dissertation *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii* ["Researches in the Field of Gotho-Slavic Relations"]⁶—make us suppose that the movement of the Iranians, after their separation from the Indians, proceeded from east to west rather than vice versa; the Iranians migrated into present-day Persia, most probably, also from the east,⁷ and prior to their irruption there they reached a certain degree of cultural development in regions included today within the borders of Afghanistan. Here, in the basin of the Āmū Daryā and of other rivers that flow from the high mountain ranges that constitute that eastern limit of the Iranian plateau, the conditions of irrigation are somewhat more propitious than in the western part of Iran, for the high snow-clad mountain crests give rise to vigorous rivers. The traveler Ferrier, who in the years 1845-1846 crossed Persia and Afghanistan, states that through the area from Kermanshah, the principal town of Persian Kurdistan, to the Harī Rūd river, which represents the border of Persia and Afghanistan, he had to cross only brooks (*ruisseaux*); the Harī Rūd was the first river "à laquelle on puisse donner le nom de rivière."⁸ According to Ferrier again, the Hilmand is the only water course in the entire area from the Tigris to the Indus that deserves the appellation of a full-fledged river (*fleuve*).⁹

⁶ F. A. Braun, *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii. I. Goty i ikh sosedi do V veka. Pervyi period: Goty na Visle* (Saint Petersburg, 1899), pp. 77, 90, 96 (*Sbornik ORIAS = Otdelenie russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii nauk*, vol. XIV, no. 12).

⁷ «For the possible routes of the movement of Iranian tribes into the territory of the Iranian plateau, see R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam* (Paris, 1951), pp. 58 ff.; I. D'iakonov, *Istoriia Mīdu*, pp. 124-125, 1249-50; E. A. Grantovskii, "Drevneiranskoe etnicheskoe nazvanie "Parsava-Parsa," in *Kratkie soobshchennia Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*, fasc. XXX (1961), pp. 3-19; V. I. Abaev, *Shifo-evropeiskie izoglosy na styke Vostoka i Zapada* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 122-24; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien (mit einer analytischen Bibliographie)* (Wiesbaden, 1966); V. M. Masson, *Srednuaia Azia i Drevnii Vostok* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), pp. 395-449.»

⁸ *Voyages*, I, 269.

⁹ For the link between the lack of water and the absence of snow-clad mountains, see letter from A. D. Kalmykov.

CHAPTER XIII

The Mountains North of Hamadān

THE Arab geographers also included in the province of al-Jibāl, which comprised Ray, Iṣfahān, Hamadān, and other cities, the mountains to the north of Hamadān up to the border of Azerbaijan. The main component of the population there was constituted, then as now, by Kurds; the region between Kirmānshāhān and Azerbaijan bears today the name of Ardalān; its chief city is Sinna, or, more exactly, Senna [Modern Sanandaj].^a In the nineteenth century, the Kurdish *wālī* of this city was still in fact independent of the Persian government; only in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, who sent as governor to Senna his uncle (who was later himself succeeded by his son), could this region be brought under control. In the Middle Ages, the chief city of the region was Dīnawar, four farsakhs west of the village of Saḥna or Siḥna.¹ The road to Dīnawar branched off from the high road between Hamadān and Baghdād at the village of Mādarān, four farsakhs from Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ or Kangāwar and the same distance from Siḥna. The ruins of Dīnawar lie on the banks of a small river that flows into the Jamas Āb near the mountain of Bīsutūn, and that is still called Āb-i Dīnawar. From Dīnawar it was four days' march to Shahrazūr, the latter situated to the southeast of present-day Sulaymāniyya, not far from the modern border between Turkey and Persia. The same distance was reckoned from Dīnawar southward to Sīrawān, whose ruins can still be seen in the mountains; one day's march farther lay the town of Ṣaymara. From Shahrazūr it was also four days' journey to Hūl-

^a See Minorsky, *ET*¹, art. "Senna."

¹ According to Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 189, in the tenth century Dīnawar was the capital of the Ḥasanwayhids. According to Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 260, the dimensions of Dīnawar were two-thirds those of Hamadān, and the level of education of its citizens was higher. Cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 198; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, fol. 29a; the Friday mosque was a construction of Ḥasanwayh (cf. Maqdisī, p. 394, about the dome above the *minbar* and the attractive *maqṣūra*, whose floor was higher than that of the mosque). The town was still inhabited in the fourteenth century, and was probably ruined after Timūr. Sam'ānī, facs. ed. Margoliouth, fol. 299a, s.v. "Sufyān" about the school of Sufyān al-Thawrī, which was still dominant in Dīnawar in his time. For Dīnawar, see Sam'ānī's remark, fol. 238a: "one of the towns of Jabal near Qirmīṣīn." [Lockhart, *ET*², art. "Dīnawar."].

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wân; according to Ibn Rusta, the road to Shahrâzûr branched off from the high road at Qaşr-i Shirîn.² Shahrâzûr was also called by the Persians Nîmrâh, because it lay half way between Madâ'in, the ancient capital, and Shîz, the principal temple of the fire worshipers in the southern part of Azerbaijan, where there are today the ruins of Takht-i Sulaymân.³ Ardalân, together with Nihâwand, constituted in Sāsānid times the province of Mâh;⁴ the revenues from this province were subsequently apportioned between the Arab military establishments at Kûfa and Başra, so that its northern part, with Dînawar, received the appellation Mâh al-Kûfa, and the southern part Mâh al-Başra.

There was not a single city to the northeast of Hamadân before Qazwîn. A road went to the north of Hamadân toward Zanjân, passing through the town of Suhraward; the latter was the birth-place of the illustrious twelfth-century mystic, the shaykh Suhrawardî, who was executed in 1191 at Aleppo.⁵ This more direct road, however, was not always safe from the Kurds who usually controlled Suhraward; this would then make a detour necessary through Qazwîn.⁶ At Zanjân, the road from Jibâl merged with the high road from Ray to Azerbaijan.

The first important town on this road was Qazwîn.⁷ This city remained for a long time, even during the 'Abbāsids, one of the border posts of the Islamic empire, because Daylam—the mountainous part of modern Gīlân—remained unconquered by the Arabs. The propagation of Islam in Daylam was carried out at the beginning of the fourth century of the Hijra by one of the 'Alid missionaries; and it was from this region that the dynasty of the

² Ibn Rusta, p. 164.

³ A description of the ruins is in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 124-43. «For the excavations, see R. Naumann *et al.*, "Takht-i Suleiman und Zendan-i Suleiman. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Jahre 1962," AA, III (1964), 1-76; *idem*, "Takht-i Suleiman . . . die Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1963 und 1964," AA, IV (1965), 619-801.» [D. Huff, "Takht-i Suleiman," *Iran, JBIPS*, VII (1969), 192-93; VIII (1970), 194-97; IX (1971), 181-82; Matheson, *Persia, an Archaeological Guide*, pp. 102-104; Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, pp. 113-18.]

⁴ «Mâh is from Old Iranian *māda*- "Media."»

⁵ There are several mystics by the name of Suhrawardî; see Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 436 ff., 440. [The shaykh intended here is Shihâb al-Dîn Yahyâ b. Ḥabash b. Amîrak, called, because of his martyrdom, al-Maqtûl, and the proponent of *ishrâq*, "illuminative wisdom" in his *Kitâb Ḥikmat al-ishrâq*. See S. Van den Bergh, *EP*, s.v.; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I², 564-66, S I, pp. 781-83.]

⁶ Işṭakhrî, p. 196.

⁷ Nâsir-i Khusraw was in Qazwîn in the summer of 1046 (Muḥarram 438), *Safar-nâma* (Tehran lithog.), p. 9. Description of the city.

Buwayhids emerged in the tenth century. Tradition attributed the creation of Qazwîn to Shāpūr, son of Ardashīr, the founder of the Sāsānid dynasty. We have relatively detailed information about the city's history and topography, because it was the home town of the fourteenth-century historian and geographer Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī.⁸ The inhabitants were still in the fourteenth century mostly Shāfi'ī Sunnīs and, according to Mustawfī, never submitted to the heretical Ismā'īlīs, even though the principal strongholds of this sect were situated immediately north of the city in Rudbār, a district that lay only six farsakhs from Qazwîn.⁹ Up to fifty solidly-built strongholds were in this district; the two principal ones were Alamūt and Maymūn Diz. In Alamūt, destroyed by the Mongols, lived the head of the sect of the Ismā'īlīs or Assassins.¹⁰ The name of the castle meant, according to Mustawfī, "eagle's nest," *āl amūt*, obviously in the local dialect.¹¹ We still have no single even moderately detailed study of the Ismā'īlī sect, and in general the eleventh and twelfth centuries are the least researched periods of Islamic history. It would be most worthwhile to investigate the reasons for the success of this sect, which brought under its control a whole series of strong castles over a vast area all the way to Qūhistān in the east, and which dispatched in secret assassins of predetermined victims all over Muslim Asia. As is known, the French word *assassin* goes back to the name of this sect, al-Ḥashīshiyyūn.¹² At the same

⁸ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extract in Schefer's ed., pp. 178-81. (Cf. C. Barbier de Maynard, "Description historique de la ville de Kazvîn, extrait du Tarikhé guzidêh de Hamd Allah Mustôfi Kazvîni," *JA*, sér. 5, vol. X (1857), 257-308) [ed. Le Strange, pp. 56-59, tr. *idem*, pp. 62-64.]

⁹ Rittikh, *Otchet o poezdke*, pt. 1, p. 108, about the beauty of Shāh 'Abbās's mosque in Qazwîn. Cf. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 444 (according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 89) about the old mosque as a building of Hārūn al-Rashīd. *Ibid.* for the "tax of the town" and 10,000 dirhams. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 455, Madīnat Mūsā opposite Qazwîn, a construction of the caliph Hādī in Mahdī's lifetime (cf. Sam'ānī, facs. ed. Margoliouth, fol. 516b below: Madīnat al-Mubārak bi-Qazwîn; the village of Rustamābād. For Rustamābād, see also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 778, s.v., where it is said that "Mūsā established it as a waqf for the benefit of the city of Qazwîn and of its ghazis" (Rustamābād does not appear in Sam'ānī). [On Shāfi'ism in Qazwîn, see H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfi'itischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1974), p. 144.]

¹⁰ Nasawī's narrative about his mission to Alamūt in 1230, in d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, III, 180 ff. [W. Iwanow, *Alamut and Lamassar, Two Mediaeval Ismaili Strongholds in Iran. An Archaeological Study* (Tehran, 1960); P.J.E. Willey, *The Castles of the Assassins* (London, 1963).]

¹¹ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extract in Schefer's ed., p. 183 [ed. Le Strange, p. 61, tr. *idem*, p. 66].

¹² (For the Ismā'īlīs, see I. P. Petrushevskii, *Islam v Irane v VII-XV vekakh (kurs*

time, the leaders of the sect were not averse to cultural aspirations: a great library of wide renown was assembled in Alamūt. Before the destruction of the stronghold by the Mongols in 1256, the historian Juwaynī, who accompanied Hülegü, drew the khan's attention to the value of this library; Hülegü ordered that all the books be delivered to Juwaynī, who then conserved those works and astronomical instruments that he considered valuable, and had the books that contained the heretical Ismā'īlī doctrine burned.¹³ According to Chardin, Alamūt was subsequently restored, and served under the Ṣafawids as a government prison; persons whom the authorities wanted to get rid of were hurled from the cliff on which the fortress stood.¹⁴ Among the border fortresses around Qazwīn, also mentioned is Ṭālaqān, situated to the east of that city and closer to the mountain; at the end of the tenth century it was a considerable town.¹⁵ In the sixteenth century, under Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Qazwīn was for some time the capital of Persia; the impression of seventeenth-century travelers was that it did not yield, in terms of brilliance, to any city of Persia except Iṣfahān. Even today, on account of its position on the main road from the Caspian seaport of Rasht to the capital of the country, Tehran, Qazwīn continues to be a vigorous merchant city. It is the first large town that those arriving in Persia along that route encounter. Its population is estimated to be as much as 40,000, although Curzon finds this number exaggerated.¹⁶

The road from Qazwīn to Zanjān passed through the town of Abhar, which still exists today, although it lies off the high road; in the tenth century, Abhar, like Qazwīn, suffered much from the Kurds and Daylamīs.¹⁷ Between Abhar and Zanjān, some nine far-

lektu) (Leningrad, 1966), pp. 276-310 (and bibliography on pp. 386-88).» [M.G.S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins. The Struggle of the Early Nizārī Ismā'īlīs against the Islamic World* (The Hague, 1955); B. Lewis, *The Assassins, a Radical Sect in Islam* (London, 1967); W. Madelung, *EP*², art. "Ismā'īliyya."]

¹³ C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, III, 198.

¹⁴ *Voyages*, ed. 1735, II, 267.

¹⁵ Maqdisī, p. 360. [Cl. Huart, *EP*¹, art. "Ṭālakān."]

¹⁶ Curzon, *Persia*, I, 35. According to Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 443, there were 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, and according to his *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*, p. 93, there were 60,000 inhabitants or more. «For the history of Qazwīn and its monuments, see also Huart, *EP*¹, art. "Kazwīn"; Gulrīz Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī, *Minūdar yā Bāb al-Janna Qazwīn* (Tehran, 1337/1958).» [A.K.S. Lambton and R. L. Hillenbrand, *EP*², art. "Kazwīn." The population in 1976 was 138,527 (*Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], 242).]

¹⁷ Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 258. [Minorsky, *EP*², s.v.].

sakhs from the former and five farsakhs from the latter, the Mongols created the new capital of Iran, Sulṭāniyya. Its construction began in the thirteenth century under the il-khan Arghun, and it was completed in the fourteenth century under Öljeytü. The latter sovereign wanted to surround the city with an extensive wall 30,000 paces in circuit, but, according to Mustawfī, he never managed to finish this project.¹⁸ Clavijo, who saw it at the beginning of the fifteenth century, says that the city lay in a plain and was not surrounded by a wall, but that it had a fortification with thick walls and beautiful towers.¹⁹ This citadel was built with hewn stones. According to Clavijo, Sulṭāniyya remained behind Tabriz in terms of size, but had an even greater commercial importance.²⁰ Here was brought silk from Gīlān (where sericulture flourished in the Middle Ages and declined only recently) and from Shamākhī, and also silken and other fabrics and carpets from southern Persia, and finally Indian goods via Hurmuz. Sixty days' journey was reckoned from Sulṭāniyya to Hurmuz, but only six days' to the Caspian sea through Gīlān. Mustawfī makes all the itineraries that he describes converge at Sulṭāniyya, the hub of the political and commercial life of Persia:

1. *Shāhrāh-i janūbī*, the road to Hamadān and from there to Baghdad and Mecca;
2. *Shāhrāh-i sharqī*, the road to Qazwīn, Warāmīn, and Khurāsān;
3. *Shāhrāh-i shimālī*, the road through Zanjān to Ardabīl and the regions of Transcaucasia;
4. *Shāhrāh-i gharbī*, the road from Zanjān to Tabriz and Asia Minor; and
5. *Shāhrāh bayna 'l-sharq wa 'l-janūb*, the road through Sāwa to Qum and from there to Iṣfahān, Shīrāz, and the ports on the Persian Gulf.²¹

After Timūr, Sulṭāniyya began to decline, and by the end of the sixteenth century it had lost its former grandeur. In the seventeenth century, its population was some 6,000 in all; in the nineteenth century, when Ker Porter visited it, Fath 'Alī Shāh had built here his

¹⁸ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extract in Schefer's ed., p. 177 [ed. Le Strange, p. 55, tr. *idem*, p. 61].

¹⁹ Clavijo, ed. Sreznevskii, p. 176 [tr. Le Strange, pp. 158-59].

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-79 [tr. pp. 158-61].

²¹ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, University ms. 171, fols. 239a-245b [ed. Le Strange, pp. 164 ff., tr. *idem*, pp. 161 ff.].

summer palace with a citadel, and had dreamed of restoring the city under the name of Sultānābād; some three hundred families lived in it at the time. After the Russo-Persian war of 1826-1828, however, Fath 'Alī's plan was abandoned. At present Sultāniyya is remarkable only for its ruins of buildings from the fourteenth century, in particular those of the two large mosques. In the great mosque, which was seriously damaged by an earthquake early in the nineteenth century, is the tomb of Sultān Öljeytü, who is better known by his Muslim name of Khudābanda.²² The building, according to Mustawfī, stood within the citadel. Of the latter, as one can see from illustrations in Ker Porter's book,²³ only an insignificant part of the wall with a tower on the northwestern side remains. The dimensions of the citadel are indicated by a square ditch: each side measures 300 yards or 900 feet, so that the circumference of the citadel would thus be just under one verst, a size that approximately corresponds to that given by Mustawfī of 2,000 paces.²⁴ Best preserved is the so-called "outer mosque" with a 120-foot-high dome, four minarets, and two entrance arches. Historical sources

²² Verse about Khudābanda in Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 75:

Ay Shāh Khudābanda,
Zulm kunanda,
Iki ʔawuq bir kanda!

[Browne's translation:

Oh Shāh Khudābanda,
Practiser of tyranny,
Two fowls to one village!]

The height of Khudābanda's tomb, according to Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, p. 91, is 51 meters above the platform of the parvis. Cf. Sykes, *A History of Persia*, II, 235, about the dome: 84 feet in diameter, "the largest in Persia"; the whole mausoleum was "certainly the first building of this kind erected under the Mongols"; according to Barbaro, *Viaggi*, the dome was larger than that of San Joanni Paulo in Venice; it was built ostensibly for a translation of the remains of 'Alī and Ḥusayn from Najaf and Karbalā'. Data in C.F.M. Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* (Paris, 1839-1852), pt. 2, pp. 76-77: an octagon, 26 meters in diameter inside, the inner height to the cornice equals the diameter; a round gallery of 24 arcades to the height of 15 meters; from among its eight minarets, only one has been preserved. It is the only building in which the inner, spherical, dome is not covered by an egg-shaped external one; all the other large mosques of Persia, which are also later, have a double dome. The other, more recent travelers in their description always mean the large mosque and not the "outer" one. (For the history and monuments of Sultāniyya, see also Minorsky, *El'*, art. "Sultāniya"; *Survey of Persian Art*, II, V; Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il Khanid Period* (Princeton, 1955).)

²³ *Travels*, I, 278.

²⁴ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extract in Schefer's ed., p. 178 [ed. Le Strange, p. 55, tr. *idem*, p. 61].

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also mention a madrasa, with sixteen teachers and two hundred students, built by Khudābanda alongside the large mosque, as well as numerous buildings by the sultān's vizier 'Alī Shāh.²⁵

To the east of Sultāniyya was a district with a settlement that even today bears the half-Mongol name Šāyin Qal'a (šāyin means "good" in Mongolian); the pre-Mongol name of this village was Quhūd.²⁶ The road from Sultāniyya to Zanjān passes along the valley of the Zanjān Rūd, an affluent of the Isfīd Rūd (now Safīd Rūd), a river that was of considerable length but not navigable; alongside this Persian name mentioned even by the Arab geographers, the Safīd Rūd also bears the Turco-Mongol name of Qizīl Uzun.^b To the south of Sultāniyya and of this valley stretched the mountains of Sujās, where in 1291 was buried one of the Mongol rulers of Persia, Arghūn.²⁷

The town of Zanjān had little importance in the Middle Ages; at present its population may reach some 20,000 souls. In the nineteenth century, it attracted attention as one of the bases of the Bābīs; in 1850 it was stormed by government troops and the Bābī uprising was crushed after fierce resistance. Just as in the time of the tenth-century geographers and during the Mongol period, two roads led from Zanjān to Azerbaijan; one northeastward across the Safīd Rūd to Ardabīl, the other to Tabriz and Marāgha.^c

²⁵ C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, 542, 545-46.

²⁶ Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extracts in Schefer's ed., p. 187 [ed. Le Strange, pp. 64-65, tr. *idem*, p. 69].

^b Huart, *ET*, art. "Kizil-Üzen."

²⁷ Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extracts in Schefer's ed., p. 186 [ed. Le Strange, p. 64, tr. *idem*, p. 69; Mustawfī says that, according to Mongol custom, the area around the grave was made into a *qurugh* or sanctuary.]

^c On Zanjān (which Abū Dulaf, *Travels in Iran*, tr. p. 34, #11, comm. p. 71 archaically spells Zhanjān), see Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, 2nd ed., pp. 79-81; Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 222. The population in «ca. 1950 was approximately 48,000 (*Farhang*, II, 141)» [and in 1976 was 99,967 (*Le monde et iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], p. 242)].

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